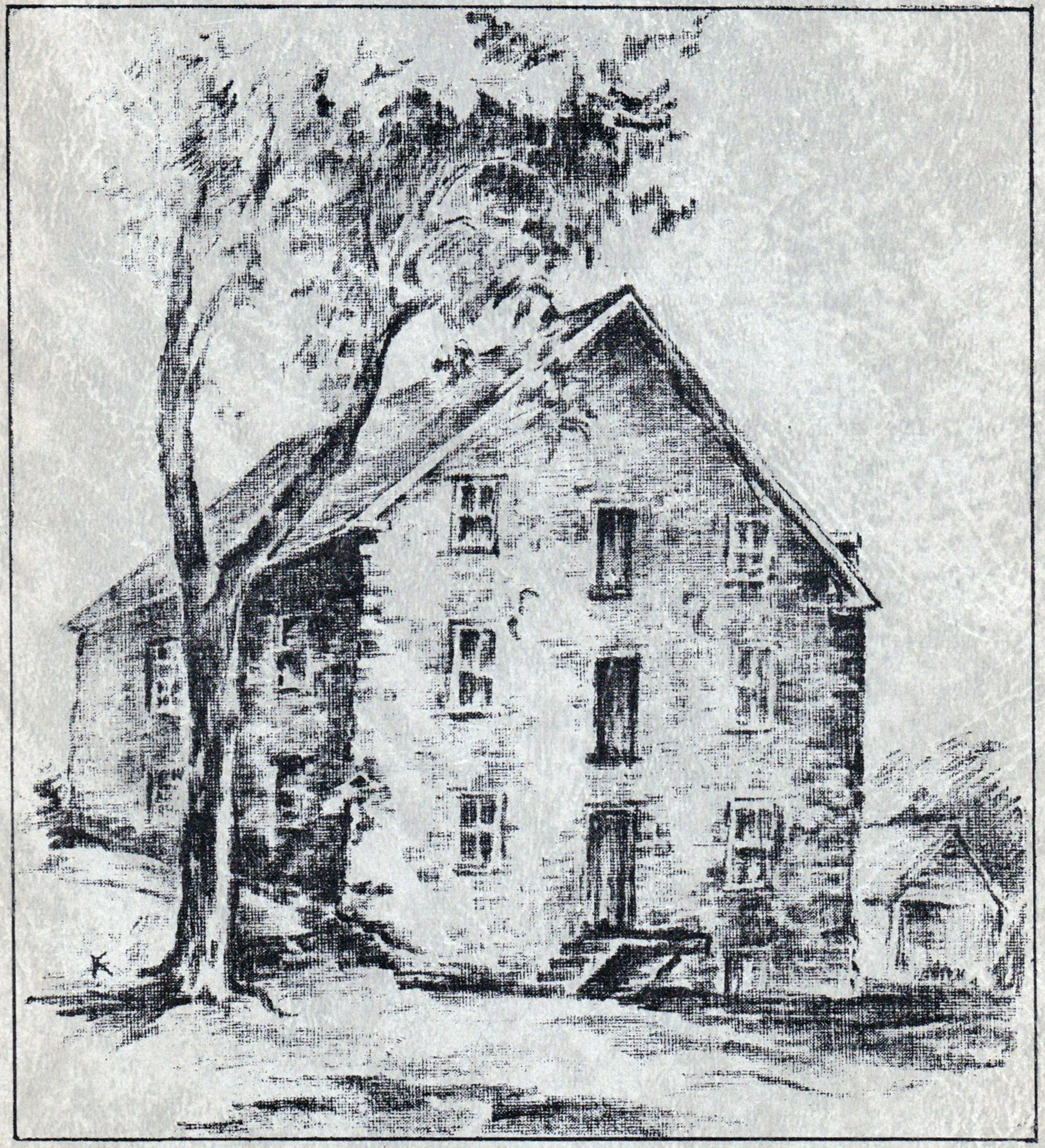
THE MORAVIAN CONTRIBUTION

to the town of

Hope, New Jersey



Hope Historical Society
Hope, N.J.
1955

PREFACE

This booklet, authorized by the Hope Historical Society and written by a committee of that Society, is an attempt to produce a long-desired accurate and complete historical account of the founding of what is now Hope by the Moravian Church, its life and development under the Moravians, and its eventual abandonment by them.

In writing this history, reference was made principally to three secondary sources—a paper entitled "A Reconstruction of the History of Hope, New Jersey—a Typical Moravian Village" by Miss Mary Atwood in 1935; a series of articles by Mrs. R. M. Van Horn which appeared in the "Washington Star" (Washington, New Jersey) in 1907; and a collection in 1881 of the reminiscences of Mr. Israel Swayze. To reconcile differences in these papers as well as to gather more material, reference was made to the records in the Archives Building on the campus of Moravian College in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. Other minor references were made as well as some original work. To all of these sources the committee extends its thanks with the hope that this resulting booklet will be a worthy representation of what occurred and went into the settlement of Hope, New Jersey.

THE BACKGROUND OF THE SETTLEMENT

The background and basis for the settlement which was to become Hope lies in the history of the Moravian Church by which the settlement was made. This Church in ancestry descended from the movement started by John Huss in Bohemia in the early part of the fifteenth century. Huss, largely following the ideas of the English reformer, John Wyclif, advocated and led a partial reform movement of the Roman Catholic Church in Bohemia. He was subsequently martyred but his followers carried on his ideas after splitting into three divergent parties. The group that predominated was condemned by the Roman Church after earlier having been accepted, and in the middle of the fifteenth century it merged into the Unitas Fratrum, a movement which combined the Hussite thinking with that of the Waldenses, the earliest of the still-existing pre-Reformation sects.

The Unitas Fratrum had an uncertain way through the next two hundred years because of intense persecution, and it existed largely only in concealment. In the early part of the eighteenth century the German-speaking Moravians, whose name had derived due to their living in Bohemia's neighboring province of Moravia, sought refuge in Saxony. Permission was given them by Nicolaus Ludwig, Graf von Zinzendorf, to found the village of Herrnhut on his Berthelsdorf estate. Zinzendorf at first took little interest in the refugees, but by 1727 he was their spiritual leader although not consecrated bishop until ten years later. He was a member of the Lutheran Church and thought of Herrnhut as a little church within a Church, and his hope was that this little church would act as a spearhead and heart of the Church in advancing the cause of Christ at home and abroad. Opposing Zinzendorf's idea was the wish to make the Moravian movement into a separate Church, and it was this latter idea that finally won the field. However, the ideal of being a disciplined body of soldiers of Christ was held fast, and it gave to the Moravians an essential missionary thrust such as no Protestant group had. To establish and further missions was almost the essence of the Church, and very soon they were established outside of Germany—in England, the West Indies, Greenland, Africa, South America, and Georgia in North America. From work among the Creek Indians of Georgia Moravians migrated to a tract of land purchased in Pennsylvania for work among the Iroquois Indians. Zinzendorf visited the new mission on Christmas Eve of 1741 and named it Bethlehem. He worked in Pennsylvania towards a union of all scattered German Protestants there as well as organizing several Moravian congregations and schools and beginning further missions to the Indians. Using itinerant preachers, Indians as far away as in New England were reached. On these missionary journeys up the Delaware River, Moravians regularly passed through the farm of Samuel J. Green, Jr. and often passed the night with him and his wife, Anna Abigail. After having had many such visits as well as preaching services at their farm, the Greens became greatly interested in the Moravian Church, and together with

their children they were baptised in 1749 in Bethlehem by two of the Moravian Elders, Nathaniel Seidel and John T. Cammerhoff, and the Green children were placed in Moravian schools there to be educated.

The Greens on their farm were on very friendly terms with the neighboring Indians who camped very nearby. With the outbreak of the French and Indian War in 1754 these Indians warned the Greens of the danger of attack. and the family moved temporarily to Emmaus, near Bethlehem. The Greens became more and more attached to the Moravian cause, so much so that in 1768 Mr. Green went to Bethlehem and offered the Moravians his entire holdings of about a thousand acres for the purpose of establishing a settlement similar to the one at Bethlehem. After due consideration it was decided that the land could not be accepted as a gift because it would be unfair to Mr. Green's children, but they proposed to purchase the property from the Greens for the sum of one thousand pounds with the provision that the farmhouse, garden and enough firewood and hay for two cows be reserved for the Greens for their lifetime. On March 7th, 1769, the purchase was arranged through the Rev. Nathaniel Seidel who was the nominal proprietor of real estate belonging to the Unitas Fratrum in America and who had previously been one of those who had baptised the Greens. The prospective settlement was started the same year when Peter Worbass with his family moved there from Bethlehem.

FROM AN EXPERIMENT TO AN ESTABLISHED COMMUNITY

1769 to 1774

The Worbass family were the guests of the Greens in their log farmhouse until a log house for the former could be built. The Green's house has long since disappeared and another house has been erected near the knoll on which it stood, but the Worbass house may still exist as a portion of a much larger house now used. Peter Worbass was made the first manager of the settlement until he removed to Pennsylvania in the next year. Frederick Leinbach was appointed his successor as manager with Frederick Rouchenberger as his assistant.

Very shortly after the arrival of the Worbass family other settlers must have come on the scene, possibly many of them workers to get the settlement going. The plan for the settlement was to have it self-supporting as fast as possible. With this idea in mind the first major building effort to be undertaken was that of the flouring mill which it was hoped would prove a steady source of income. The plan for the mill was made by Christian Christianson, the same ingenious machinist who had designed the waterworks at Bethlehem, with Philip Maixel as master mason and Joseph Grotz as master carpenter. In 1770, in the almost unbelievably-short time of one year, the mill was com-

pleted and in running order. The mill was built of rough-cut limestone with three and a half stories. One of the floors consisted of living quarters for the miller, while the rest of the space, with the exception of the area around a large fireplace on the bottom level towards the rest of the settlement, was devoted to the milling operation. The fireplace, which is very large, is reputedly the original Moravian smithy. Not the least in the construction of the mill, which could produce flour from four sets of stones, was the millrace which ran almost a thousand feet from the millpond and dam above the mill to the outlet into the brook below the mill. The race was cut through solid slate the entire length with the greatest depth of at least twenty-two feet and with the outlet portion a tunnel under the road running east from the settlement.

While the mill was of utmost importance in bringing money into the settlement to help in its support, farming enterprises were needed to supply food for the settlers. Shortly after the completion of the mill two farms were in operation. One farm was called the miller's farm and consisted of over eleven acres on the south side of the settlement. Although spoken of as the miller's farm, it was not owned by the miller personally, but, as with all property in an early Moravian settlement, it belonged to the community itself. Its purpose apparently was to supply the grain needed by the community. It had on it by 1774 one building which no longer exists. Whether it was a barn or a dwelling is not now known, but presumably the miller's family lived with him in the mill. The first miller was John Heckedorn, but he was soon replaced by Daniel Hauser.

The other farm was located at the north end of the village mostly on the land of the "Great Meadow", a very rich area of wet land that almost surrounded the village. Set off as a separate plot of land from the farm land itself was the cow yard. It had on it two log or frame barns which no longer exist and to which later was added a stone barn or storehouse which still stands. One of the three early town wells was in the cow yard plot as well as the farmhouse. The latter was built in 1775 and probably replaced a temporary log structure. This stone house was a typical Moravian dwelling, and although somewhat changed now it is still recognizable in form and shape. The first floor of the one and a half story limestone building had two rooms with a fireplace and oven separating them. There were two windows and a door in front and the same in the rear with two windows in one end and a door in the other. The second floor was originally one large room with two windows in each end. In the space under the peak of the roof there was a small window in each end. The old front door is now used in the cellar and the curious lock has disappeared. This lock was wooden, eight by twelve by two and a half inches, and was bolted to the door. The key to it was eight inches long. The bricks of which the chimney, as well as those in the arches over most of the windows and doorways in the stone buildings, were made in the brick and

lime kilns which were situated a third of a mile north-west of the center of the village.

The kilns were built by Stephen Nicolaus who operated them for about five years. His home, the second of the stone houses to be built, was located on the western side of the settlement on a road that later was called Hickory Street. This house was quite small when built, but since it has almost been doubled in size by an addition on the south side of the old house. Next to it is a stone barn which was built later but whether during the Moravian occupancy is not known for certain. The lime from the kilns was one of the components, with clay, of the mortar that held together the mortar that held together the stones and bricks. This mortar after mixing was usually buried in the fall of the year and left in the ground until springtime.

In May of 1770 Christian Gregor, John Loretz, and Hans Christian von Schweinitz, members of the Unitas Fratrum's Provincial Helpers' Conference visited the settlement from Bethlehem and gave to it the name of Greenland, presumably in deference to the Green family.

Frederick Leinbach, who had been appointed manager of the community and to whom had been allotted four lots of land for his own use across the stream from the mill and up the hill, in 1771 opened a small store for the accomodation of the community. This building, made of wood, was not used for a store after a stone one was built some years later. To build such frame buildings the Moravians needed sawn wood, but until later years the community had neither a sawmill nor a sawyer. During this time they bought lumber from a non-Moravian settler, James Howell, who operated a mill a mile or so north-east of Greenland on the way to Log Gaol, now Johnsonburg.

The Moravians, knowing that the day would come when they would have to bury their dead, laid out a cemetery plot on the top of a ridge a short way to the south-west of the village. On August 15th, 1773, they had their first burial in their cemetery or God's Acre—Johannes Leinbach, a baby of only a few months.

In 1773 there were three other beginnings. A tannery for the community was erected of brick and logs at the top of the streambank to the south-west of the mill with Frederick Blum as tanner. In 1907 there were dilapidated remains of the enterprise, but today nothing remains except some foundations on the meadow below which may have held the tan pits. A distillery and brewery, to produce rye whiskey and beer, was built above the mill and across the stream. The equipment was on the lower floor with living quarters on the upper level. An interesting feature of the building were the iron bars across the windows on the lower level. Apparently it was felt necessary to protect the produce from the community or perhaps vice versa. It is noteworthy that while the Moravians were a religious body and the settlement of Greenland

was a religious enterprise, no Church building had been erected in the first three years of the settlement's life. Where the services that certainly were held went on is not known, but there probably were clergy in residence continuously. Bishop Ettwein was there from time to time. At other times Brothers Jacob Schwick, Francis Boehler, and David Sydrick had the religious responsibility for the community. Bishop Ettwein, and perhaps some of the other clergy, administered the Sacrament and delivered sermons in both German and English, in the latter presumably for the benefit of other pioneer families who had settled in the vicinity both before and after the arrival of the Moravians. In 1773 a building was erected across the road from Mr. Green's house. It was built primarily as an inn, and adjoining it were two other buildings one of which was probably a stable. Greenland was on a through road which later became a thoroughfare and a stagecoach road. The inn and the tavern which was operated in it was built to serve the travelers. The innkeeper was Ephraim Colver who seems to have been a jack of all trades. Besides his main occupation he was also baker for the community (supplying to Mr. Leinbach's store), he was a carpenter, and he had served his apprenticeship as a miller. Of the inn itself little is known, but somewhere within it there was a room set aside for Church services. This room served as the community's Church for eight years until a permanent home for it was erected.

By this time there were fifteen buildings and nineteen people scattered through the settlement which had half a dozen roads. The Green's house was about in the middle of the settlement at that time, although the digging of a town well, the third in the settlement, indicated that further buildings would be built in its vicinity more to the south. At present this well is non-existent, probably buried under the cellar of a more-modern house.

In the matter of the government of the community there was little since little was needed. The settlers were devout members of the sect, and certainly they had every inclination of following the regulations mapped out for them by their Church. The early settlers subscribed to the "Brotherly Agreement" and it was provided that all subsequent settlers should do the same. This agreement was a system of forty-two statutes adopted by the Unitas Fratrum to direct the conduct of Christian life. These rules were practically the same for all Moravian communities and covered such things as obedience to ecclesiastical and civil authorities, contributions to charities, adherence to acts of the General and Provincial Synods, and fellowship and cooperation with other Churches and denominations. A committee of four Brethren was chosen to take the place of the usual College of Overseers, and the community was possibly advised by the Elders' Conference in Bethlehem. In spite of Greenland's proximity to Bethlehem and the intercourse between the two, Greenland was not like a colony of Bethlehem but actually was under the sole control of the Unitas Fratrum in Germany.

The economic system set up by the Church was called a Diacony or Proprietory. Farms, woodlands, homes, and all enterprises were held in common through the congregation and finally were owned by the Unitas Fratrum itself of which one man was nominal proprietor. This system was followed until such time as a community should become self-supporting and healthy. Under this system the settlers gave time and labor in return for the necessities of life. Only members of the congregation could "hold" land, and they did this through a form of indenture. These principles by which the community worked were part of Zinzendorf's plan to perpetuate the congregation by supplying a unity of interest and enterprise.

Because of this a Moravian community was in a sense planned before it was undertaken, but until this time, 1774, the community of Greenland was not a permanently-established community but only an experiment. Since apparently Greenland as an experiment had taken root, the Church authorities decided to make Greenland a regular community, an "Orts Gemeine". They had the settlement and property surveyed by J. W. Golgosky on November 25, 1774, and the plan of the town was laid out by the surveyor together with Bishop Ettwein and the Brethren Nathaniel Seidel and Hans Christian von Schweinitz. A document was drawn up at the time and a copy of it was later deposited in the Community House (Gemeinhaus) when it was erected. A memorandum at the end of the document explained the purpose of the community. A translation from the German reads "The Elders Conference of the Unity informed the Provincial Helpers that on this Tract of Land then called Greenland, according to the Good Will of God our Saviour the Ruler and Governor of his Church a Regular Place Congregation should be settled; that is, a town wherein all Inhabitants, Man & Wife, married & unmarried, Parents & Children, Masters & Servants, young & old, as Believers & Children of God, are all agreed to live unto Him who died for us & to stand under the Direction and Government of Jesus Christ our Only Lord & Saviour. A Community, where the Doctrine of our Lord Jesus Christ & his Apostles must be the Foundation of all Instruction & Teaching of all Practice & Actions, and where nothing shall be suffered or cherished what is or can be against that holy Doctrine. A place where all Rules and Regulations shall tend to guard from the Beginning, against all Things that can give occasion to offense, seduction, & sinful Practices."

On the eighth of the next February it was decided by the drawing of lots that the name of the settlement be changed from Greenland to Hope.

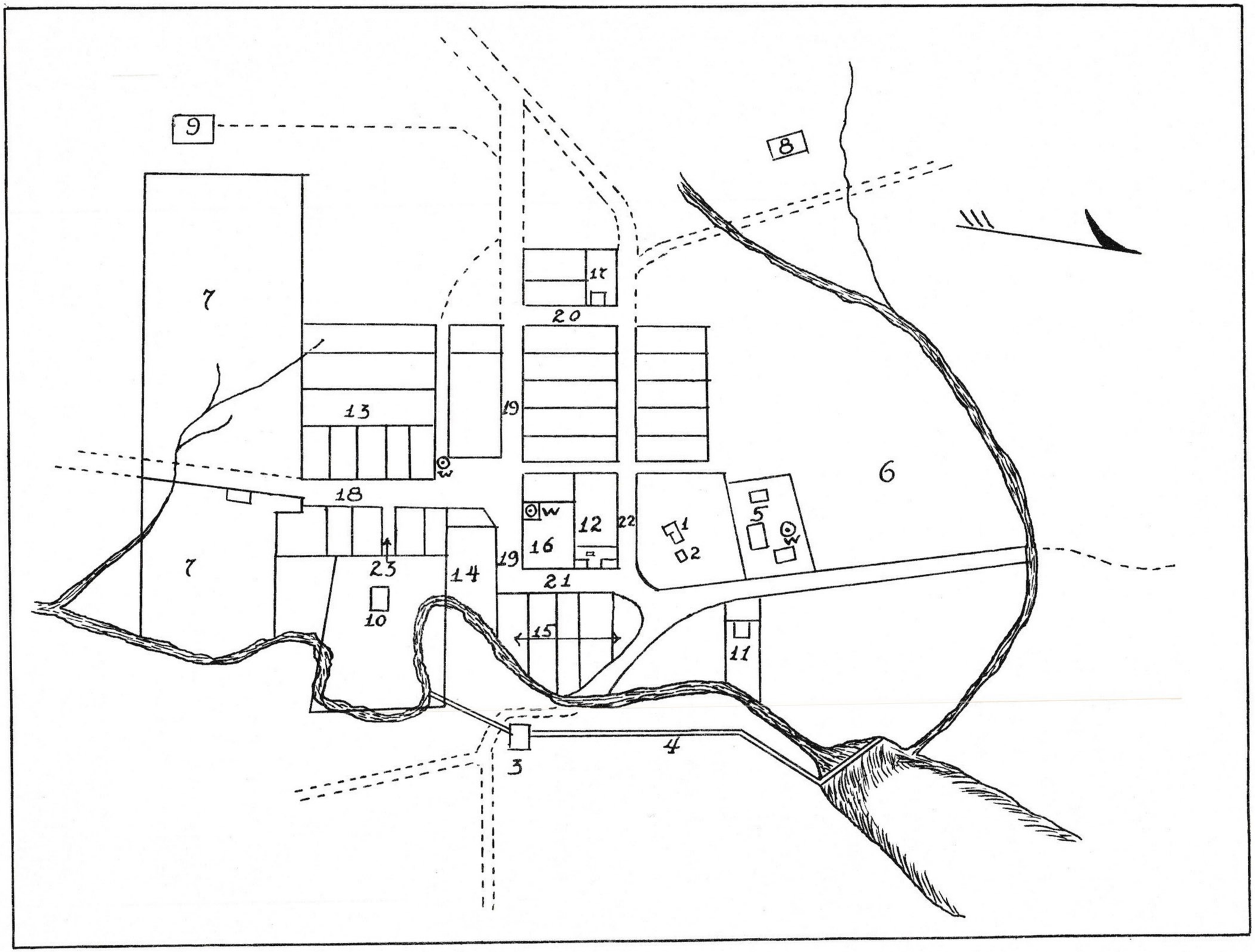
MAP OF GREENLAND

The map on the opposite page is a modified copy of a map in the Archives Building of Bethlehem's Moravian College. The original was prepared by J. W. Golgosky, Bishop Ettwein, N. Seidel, and H. C. von Schweinitz subsequent to the survey of Greenland on November 25, 1774.

LEGEND

1. Green's house
2. Worbass' house
3. flouring mill
4. millrace
5. cowyard
6. meadow & farm land
7. miller's farm
8. lime & brick kilns
9. cemetery
10. tannery
11. brewery & distillery
12. the inn (2 lots, 3 buildings)
13. lot for Single Sisters' Economy
14. lot for Single Brothers' Economy
15. Leinbach's four lots
16. Leinbach's store
17. Nicolaus' house
18. Union Street
19. High Street
20. Hickory Street
21. Walnut Street
22. Cedar Alley
23. Moravian Street

W. a well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THE PERIOD OF EXPANSION AND DEVELOPMENT
1774 to 1791

The survey of the land holdings in 1774 which resulted in the map of the settlement plus the psychological element in the giving of the new name set the stage for the development and expansion of Hope over the next seventeen years. Probably very soon names were given to the streets although these names did not originally appear upon the map. The location of one street, Moravian Street, was moved, and two others that never were named apparently were not established. At the time of the survey a good part of the land had not been cleared and as time went on more and more was cleared and made usable. Very soon a change was made in the cemetery. The Moravians would not bury their dead in a location such that drainage from the location would go towards their buildings. Possibly because the original cemetery did not conform in this respect there were no more burials there. A short while later when the second person died the burial was in the new cemetery further down the ridge close to the road leading south-west from the village. As more were buried the Moravian customs concerning the arrangement of their cemeteries was followed—instead of family plots the burials were arranged according to the date of decease and the Choir or Economy to which the person belonged. Markers were simple slabs of stone set flat in the ground with inscriptions such as that of Mrs. Green whose maiden name is curiously mentioned:

No. 31
Anna Abigail Green
late, Light
born Sept. 1720 at Springfield, N.J.
departed July 25, 1791

Mr. Green, in accordance with his wish, was buried in Swayze's Cemetery a mile south of Hope. After the founding of the settlement he had become quite eccentric and had lived almost a hermit's life in separation from the community. Bishop Ettwein brought him back to a profession of Christian faith on his death bed. On April 15th, 1775, he died of dropsy and he was buried by Bishop Ettwein on Easter Day in the face of a very large congregation.

The next year Adolph Hartman built a dwelling and smithy, the location of neither of which is now known. Since the community was not set up to have internal competition it must be assumed that the supposed smithy which

operated under the flouring mill was not sufficient to handle the demand for the work. The expected expansion of Hope apparently warranted Frederick Leinbach to build a new store. In 1776 his new stone building with living quarters above the store was opened for trade. It was east of the old one, which probably remained and was used for another purpose, on the corner of High and Walnut Streets.

The Honorable Messrs. William Whipple and William Ellery, both signers of the Declaration of Independence, passed through Hope the following year. In their diary they described the place as "a small settlement consisting of six private houses, some mechanics' shops, and one of the finest and most curious mills in America." The mill referred to was of course the stone flouring mill. but what was meant as the mechanics' shops is not certain. There had been four private homes three years before; the additional ones were perhaps two of the four unaccounted-for stone dwellings built sometime after 1774—three along Union Street and one almost across from the cemetery on High Street.

Just when Hope was on the verge of expansion it was affected by the War for Independence. The Moravians by principle were not to interfere with the politics of the government under which they lived but were to conduct themselves as loyal, peaceable, and obedient subjects of those whom they understood to be their divinely-appointed rulers. The British were therefore officially supported by the Moravians. The same Bishop Ettwein who was in Hope from time to time later was a chaplain to the Continental Forces at Bethlehem and the Moravian's official delegate to the First Continental Congress, but he was also very much of a Tory and gave thanks publicly for a British victory. Besides their principle of supporting the governmental status quo, the Moravians also disavowed war. Perhaps because they were off the beaten track and not too close to the larger and more orthodox settlement of Bethlehem, the Hope Moravians did not hold to these tenets as strictly as they might have. Although they could not openly support the rebellion and could not take the Oath of Allegiance under the Test Act, they were still able to be very useful to the Continental forces and particularly during the winter when the army stayed in the Morristown area. The men of Hope served as teamsters driving to Morristown with meat, cannonballs from Oxford, and flour from the Hope mill. In June of 1778 the mill's entire store of flour was taken for the Continental stores. The feeling towards the rebels was probably heigthened by the fact that General Washington stopped in Hope on his way to Newburg. Before

entering town he is supposed to have rested under the big buttonwood tree south of town near Swayze's Cemetery. With the war's end and the establishment of the government the Moravians were glad to take the new Oath of Allegiance and made good and loyal citizens of the young government.

Although the war certainly impeded the progress of the town's growth and development, progress still was made. At some time during this period the stone building, now joined to others with none of the stonework showing, which reputedly was the smokehouse probably was built across Walnut Street from the new store. In 1780 the first of two sawmills was built. This one was a short way down along the millrace. Within two years after its completion the Marquis de Chastellux while traveling through Hope inspected the sawmill and praised it highly. He spoke of it as "the most beautiful and best contrived I ever saw. A single man, only, is necessary to direct the work; the same wheels which keep the saw in motion serve also to convey the trunks of the trees from the spot where they are deposited to the workhouse, a distance of some 25 to 30 toises; they are placed on a sledge, which, sliding in a groove, is drawn by a rope which rolls and unrolls on the axis of the wheel itself. Planks are sold at six shillings, Pennsylvania currency, the hundred; if you find the wood it is only half the money, and the plank, in that case is sawed for one farthing per foot." There is no longer any evident trace of this mill on the spot where it is known to have been. The location of the second mill is not now known.

This same year Ephraim Colver, the innkeeper, leased the farm for a two-year period with an annual rental. The first medical man, Dr. Frances Christian Kampman, took up residence in Hope. He was a capable man as well as being of means. He later was one of the wardens of the community and his name appeared on the eventual agreement of sale. He was wealthy enough to be able to send his three children to boarding schools in Bethlehem. A doctor seems to have been a very important member of the Diacony judging from the amounts of sickness. As far back as 1777 there was a record of "much sickness, fever, and dysentery, fatal in a number of cases." At one time a "general sickness" is mentioned. Epidemics of common contagious diseases were usual, but there was also a large amount of malaria perhaps due to the boggy lands and swamps which almost surrounded Hope. At the time of the doctor's arrival in Hope there were all of fifty-three in the population.

1781 saw the beginning made for the permanent home of the Church in the "Gemeinhaus" or Community House. In the cornerstone of the building

is a document of which the following is a translation: "In the year of our Lord 1781, the second day of April, this corner stone was laid in the name of God the Father, and the Son and the Holy Ghost, by the Right Reverend John Frederick Reichel, Bishop of Saxony, a visitor to the Brethren's congregations of America, for a house of God, wherein the Gospel of Jesus Christ shall be preached in purity, the Holy Sacraments administered, and the congregation inhabiting this place have their daily meetings, according to the rules, customs, and usages of the Brethren's Church, of which this congregation is a small twig, and the new branch lately planted by the Bethlehem, Pa. (congregation) to be a candlestick with a burning and shining light for this part of the country." At the ceremony there were present thirteen married couples, two widows one of whom was Mrs. Green, four single Brethren, and nineteen children. These people, gathered from the settlement itself and from the outlying Moravian farms, were no doubt dressed in their best attire for the occasion. The women's and girl's clothes while not strictly a uniform conformed rather closely to a set pattern. They were severely plain in grey or brown, or white for best if they had it. The dresses had fitted waists with full skirts over which were worn full capes. The somber tone of this dress was relieved by the bright ribbons with which the white linen caps were fastened—pink for unmarried young women, blue for married women, white for widows, and red for children.

The congregation was divided according to age, sex, and position in life with each group having its own activities, functions, and religious culture. These groups were known as Economies or Choirs. In Hope there were not the full complement of Choirs, but there were at least a Single Sisters' Economy and a Single Brothers' Economy each of which had a lot of land reserved for the eventual erection of a building for their use. Each Choir had a definite place in any special occasion. They had important functions at the great Christmas and Easter celebrations.

Except upon the formation of a trombone choir in 1789 when a set of trombones was procured from Europe, the term "Choir" did not apply to music. But music was a part of the daily life and religion of the Moravians as a whole. They were a singing people and tried to reach God through their music. They made use of many of the old Georgian hymns as well as popular tunes to which they put sacred lyrics. There was a piece of music or hymn for every occasion. To accompany the singing and sometimes to be used separately the Moravians had orchestral instruments. In America the trombone was adopted

by the Brethren as having special religious significance. A trombone choir would play special music throughout the town from early Easter morning until the final service at the cemetery was held. Often the trombones would be played from the large cupola atop the Gemeinhaus. This happened when a member of the community died. Then the trombone choir would announce the death to the whole community by playing three tunes—one proclaiming the event, one announcing the Economy to which the person had belonged, and the third as a prayer. The purpose of announcing the particular Economy was so that the other members of the group would come to prepare the body for burial. Later traditional hymns were played at the grave, and these were of a joyful nature rather than somber in quality because the Moravians thought of death as a blessed event such that it was not fitting for survivors to be sorrowful at the entrance of a member into a happier life.

The Gemeinhaus, in which most of the religious observances were held, was a two and a half story limestone building. While not the largest building in the village it was certainly the most imposing in spite of its simplicity and straightness of design. Facing the town green with one of the town wells near its southern end, it had six large windows on the second floor front and four windows and two broad doors on the first floor front. On the first floor was the apartment for the pastor of the congregation as well as a room for the boys' school which he conducted. The two large front doors, one at each end of the front of the building, each opened into a hall from which a wide staircase led on to the second floor and then on to the third floor under the eaves. The two sets of stairs were for the separate entrance into the Church room of the men and women. The two groups sat segregated in their place of worship which the contemporary Marquis de Chastellux said "resembles the Presbyterian meeting houses with the difference that there is an organ and some religious pictures." Of the layout of the room with its platform, pulpit, and baptismal font nothing remains today. A year and a half after the laying of the cornerstone, the new Gemeinhaus was formally dedicated on November 8th, 1782.

Associated with the religious practices of the Moravians was their custom of the love feast. This feast which in part was the breaking of bread as a symbol of unity and equality had an ancient background and when first used by the Moravians had a purely religious character. A congregation after wor-shipping would partake of buns and coffee as one family; but gradually the custom lost its religious aspect and became more and more just a social activity

used on special occasions such as a birthday, a school function, or the visit of a celebrity. Perhaps General Washington was entertained in this fashion on the occasion of his visit to Hope during the War for Independence.

Another religious custom was the making of important decisions by using the lot. Slips of paper, some blank, some with "yes", and some with "no" written on them, were put into a container. After kneeling and praying for God's guidance those to make the decision drew one slip of paper. If the lot was other than blank the decision was final, but if it was blank then there were further deliberations and prayer before another lot was drawn. It was by this method that the decision was made to purchase the land for the settlement from Samuel Green, and it was also by this method that the name of the settlement was changed from Greenland to Hope. Decision by lot was used when a girl was unsure about a proposed marriage or if the marriage seemed unwise to the Elders' Conference to whom the contracting parties had to apply for permission to marry. If the lot drawn signified no marriage the decision was final, but the girl could still use her discretion if the lot allowed the marriage. Once entered into a marriage was final; no divorce was allowed. The lot was not used often in Hope for this purpose. Probably because most of the settlers were young married couples starting life together in the new settlement, there were few marriages in Hope. The first was in 1798 when Anna Maria Leinbach was married to Francis Clewell. This marriage apparently blasted the hopes of Conrad Krueser, the only remaining Single Brother at the time, who the following year moved back to Pennsylvania.

The year of the completion of the Gemeinhaus saw a new industry in town. John Schank arrived and built a shop in which to work at his trade as a nailsmith. The next year Lewis Moeller arrived from the Moravian town of Salem in North Carolina and started producing pottery in a building he erected in the neighborhood of the tannery. Neither of these two shops remain today.

The structure which had been built as an inn and a temporary Gemeinhaus under Ephraim Colver had a new use in 1784. Under the tutelage of Anna Rosina Mack a school for little girls was begun there by the Single Sisters' Economy. This school apparently carried on for nine years. The parallel school for boys was held in the new Gemeinhaus under the pastor until after two years, in 1786, Christian Till was brought in to teach the boys and to act as organist for the congregation.

The year following the establishment of the school for girls saw several buildings erected. What was apparently a home was built for J. Hartman, and what may have been a combination of a shop and home was built for John Weinland, the saddler. Two years later three buildings were added to the community. A shop was built in which Mr. Konig could make wagons. This building may have been the stone building behind the flouring mill. A stone house was built for Mr. Colver as well as a home for Mr. Whitesell, the assistant in the sawmill. Which stone house was Mr. Colver's is not known, but Mr. Whitesell's may have been on the lot north of the four that had been set aside on Walnut Street for Frederick Leinbach.

Evidence that all was not smooth in the relationship between the Moravians and the other settlers appeared in 1787. Joseph Swayze, Jr., a neighbor and a member of one of the earliest families in the area, decided to erect a gristmill in competition with the Moravian mill a mile and a half away. This development upset the Moravians very much, although it is interesting to note that they apparently had felt no qualms in establishing their sawmill seven years earlier in apparent competition with the one operated by James Howell from whom previously they had bought their sawn lumber. A letter of remonstrance was sent to Mr. Swayze pointing out to him that the mill had served the area well for seventeen years and that its revenue after the expenses in Hope were defrayed went to support the missions that were preaching the Gospel to the Indians. After asking Mr. Swayze to abandon his scheme the letter concluded with "Now, dear neighbor, these minds which we have communicated to you, flow not out of hearts of hatred for you, but more out of grievous foresight, that our mill will be out of its resource and in the future contribute but little to the above-mentioned expenses, and we beg your pardon, and hope you will not take it amiss of us, as we shall still remain your well-wishing friends and neighbors." This letter was signed by the five stewards or wardens of the community, but it was so mild that it apparently affected Mr. Swayze not at all. He proceeded to build his mill and to contribute to the eventual misfortune of the community. During this period the area of Hope had apparently been involved in a land dispute between the townships of Oxford and Knowlton. The dispute was resolved the next year with the finding that most of the land belonged in Oxford and but a little in Knowlton.

In 1788 a new industry appeared in Hope with the opening of a linen-weaving enterprise by William Hessler. The next year was one of sickness. It was recorded that thirty-four children were stricken with what was either

small pox or measles and that all but five of them had previously been innoculated. 1790 saw the beginning of a potash manufacturing enterprise. This year marked the high water mark of the settlement as far as population was concerned. There were one hundred and forty-seven people in the Moravian community. Of these a hundred lived in the village and the remainder lived in the surrounding area, some on farms which the Moravians had purchased subsequent to the original purchase from Samuel Green, and some on farms of their own as Moravian buyers or as converts. There were sixty-six people who were full communicants of the Church. From this point on, although there were additional enterprises and buildings, the settlement of Hope began a decline that was rather faster than its rise.

THE DECLINE AND REMOVAL
1791 to 1808

In 1791 although the population growth had stopped two new enterprises were started. At the expense of the Diacony an oilmill was set up in the lower part of the sawmill on the millrace; and Mr. Ricksecker started the industry of clothmaking and dyeing which survived for only five years before closing. The same year three other new buildings were erected. Two years later disaster in the way of fire first struck Hope. For twenty-four years there had been no fire, but then in one year there were two outbreaks. The old Gemeinhaus which had become a combination inn and school was apparently one of the victims. The other is unknown.

By 1799 the population had shrunk from its high point of one hundred and forty-seven down to only eighty-four. In that year there were two official visits to Hope by members of the Provincial Helpers' Conference. J. G. Cornow came to investigate the financial condition and C. G. Reichel arrived to look into the discouraging aspect of everything connected with the settlement. It was found that there were eight empty houses and that the girls' school had been abandoned. This last was probably due to the burning of the building, although there is also an unconfirmed record that the school continued until the year of the official visitation.

Four years later the last of the Moravian buildings was begun. John Lewis Strohle had become pastor and inspector for a contemplated boarding school for girls. That year the southern portion of the stone building south and across

Union Street from the Gemeinhaus was completed and was dedicated on April eleventh. It was to house the Single Sisters' Economy which occupied it on July fifth as well as the Boarding School which opened on August first. The Single Sisters were thus given a supposedly-permanent home here instead of on the lot originally set aside for them behind the row of lots across the street. Either in the same building but probably in an extension of it to the north a school for boys was opened on November twentieth of the same year with George A. Hartman as teacher. Due to the bad economic conditions this school was closed the following year while the school for girls struggled another year before being closed because of the lack of pupils. In spite of all the trouble the Moravians had with education in Hope, their children apparently received good instruction, for it is recorded that four girls from Hope were well-enough prepared to be able to attend the Moravian Seminary for Young Ladies at Bethlehem. This school was the most fashionable and the best finishing school in the country at the time. Three boys were also able to be enrolled in the boys' school of Nazareth Hall. One of these went on to the Theological Seminary and later returned as a teacher in Nazareth Hall.

The community store, up to this time under the control of the Diacony, was sold to Daniel Kleist to be run on his own account. The next year the Single Sisters Economy was abandoned. In May of 1807 Messrs. Verbeck and Forestier arrived from Europe as representatives of the Unity's Elders' Conference (under whose control and not Bethlehem the Hope community existed) to announce that the Church authorities had decided to break up the settlement, sell the property, and send the settlers to other Moravian towns. Various reasons have been given for this step—one that the community had been decimated by disease and death, and another that the sharp business practices of the non-Moravian settlers in the vicinity had rendered precarious the financial condition of the more trusting and honest Moravians. While both these may have been factors, the real reason seems to have been the condition of the Church in Europe. The Mother Church had been contributing to the upkeep of Hope, but its own financial situation, made difficult by the debt in which Zinzendorf had involved the Church as well as by the troubled European situation in the midst of the Napoleonic Wars, made it impossible to pour further moneys into an enterprise which appeared to be a long way if ever from self support. The decision was accepted by the community and the nominal proprietor of all Moravian property in America, Christian Lewis Benzien, undertook to sell the property through his attorney, John Gebhard Cornow,

both of the Salem settlement in North Carolina. On September 22nd, 1807, an agreement to sell was made with Nicolas Kramer and Abraham Horn, both of Northampton County in Pennsylvania, as the buyers. In the agreement there was provision that six individuals who by indenture had leases on part of the community land should be allowed to have the use of that land until the expiration of the leases if the provisions of the indentures were fulfilled. Also provision was made for five of the Moravians who had built homes and trade shops at their own expense to be reimbursed by an amount to be decided upon by three impartial referees and that sum then deducted from the selling price of the total settlement. The two men who had leased the mill and distillery and whose leases had not yet expired were to be reimbursed by the Church unless the amount ran above a set figure in which case the buyer would make up the difference. It was further provided that the Moravians had first option on buying back any of the property after the buyers had divided the total property into small lots for sale. A final provision concerned the burying ground. While this lot was sold, it was agreed that it should always be kept enclosed and that the graves should not be disturbed by the buyers or by any future purchaser. It is noteworthy that neither of these provisions concerning the cemetery were kept in any sense of the word. The total property sold was recorded as more or less fifteen hundred acres. This was half again greater than the original amount of land purchased from Samuel Green. The price was forty-eight thousand dollars in either gold or silver American currency.

The agreement was filed on March 11th, 1808. Since the signing of the agreement preparations had been begun towards the moving to Nazareth and Bethlehem. The Moravians agreed to vacate the property by April fifteenth. Before they left one more member of the community died in March. He was buried in God's Acre and was the sixty-second person to die and the sixty-first to be buried in that cemetery. While the stone marking the lone burial in the original plot was at some time moved down to the later cemetery, it is very doubtful if the body was ever moved by the Moravians. By this time there were considerably fewer than the sixty-three people who were in Hope at the time of the announcement to sell the property. The last act of the congregation was the service of worship in the Gemeinhaus and at the cemetery. It was conducted by Brother Meder on Easter Day, April 17th, 1808. The congregation was declared terminated and the Moravians ended their admirable enterprise to carve a beautiful and thriving community out of the wilderness by commencing their trek to Nazareth and Bethlehem and so to a new life.

MAP OF HOPE

The map on the opposite page is an attempt to depict the town of Hope at the time of the Moravian removal. It is based upon the earlier map but with the lines of the plots omitted and with later street changes and later buildings added.

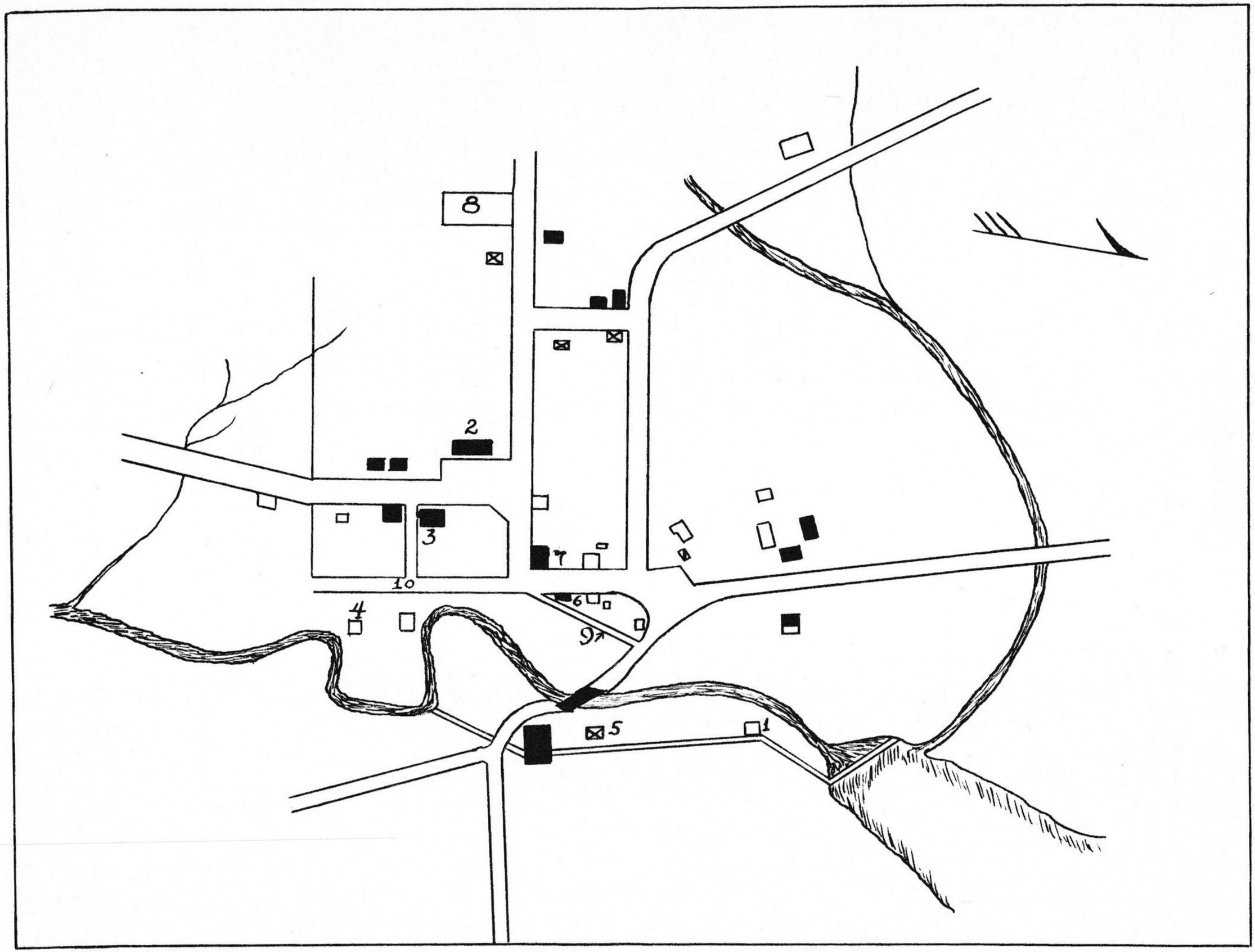
LEGEND

Solid rectangles indicate buildings still extant.

Empty rectangles indicate buildings which have disappeared but whose locations are known.

Criss-crossed rectangle indicate buildings which are extant but not proven to be Moravian.

1. sawmill
2. Gemeinhaus
3. girls' school
4. pottery
5. wheelwright shop
6. smokehouse
7. store
8. cemetery
9. Locust Street
10. Iron Alley


8
2
3
10
4
6
9
5
1

APPENDIX 1.

FAMILY NAMES OF MORAVIANS WHO LIVED IN HOPE

1. Boehler, Bohler
2. Blum
3. Bulton
4. Christianson
5. Clewell
6. Coulver, Colver
7. Demuth
8. Ettwein
9. Green
10. Grotz
11. Grube
12. Hartman, Hartmann
13. Hauche
14. Hauser
15. Heckedorn
16. Heckewelder
17. Hederick
18. Hessler
19. Huber
20. Kampmann, Kampman
21. Kliest
22. Knauss
23. Konig
24. Krause
25. Krueser
26. Leinbach
27. Loesch
28. Luckenbach
29. Mack, Mach
30. Maixel
31. Moeller
32. Mucke
33. Neiser
34. Nicolaus
35. Omenstetter
36. Partser
37. Peter
38. Ramstein
39. Reinkecker
40. Reiss
41. Ricksecker
42. Rohn
43. Rouchenberger
44. Schank
45. Scheiner
46. Schenke
47. Schneider
48. Schulze
49. Schwick
50. Strohle
51. Sydrick
52. Till
53. Tombler
54. Weinland
55. Whitesell
56. Worbass

APPENDIX 2.

FAMILIES WHO REMAINED AFTER THE SALE

1. Huber
2. Reiss
3. Schank
4. Scheiner
5. Schneider
6. Weinland

APPENDIX 3.

MORAVIAN ENTERPRISES

1. brick & lime kilns
2. two cemeteries
3. clothing & dyeing
4. two farms
5. flouring mill
6. Gemeinhaus
7. inn
8. linen weaving
9. medical practice
10. nailsmithy
11. oilmill
12. potash making
13. pottery
14. saddle making
15. two sawmills
16. three school locations
17. two smithies
18. smokehouse
19. two stores
20. tannery

APPENDIX 4.

BUILDING STATISTICS

Buildings: at least 36 built
of these 15 stone
21 wood or brick
14 stone buildings remain
4 wooden buildings possibly remain

Homes: at least 13 built
of these 6 stone
6 definitely remain
4 possibly remain